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HOUSING POSITION IN OCCUPIED AREAS: FRANCE

A study of pre-war housing and construction in France, the low-cost housing program, the censuses of housing and population of 1926 and 1936, and developments during the present war -- destruction to housing through land warfare and ~~banking~~ bombing and changes in population due to the war.

14 March 1944

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Summary and Conclusions

I. Short History of Housing and Construction. 1

A. General 1

B. Public Housing. 1

II. Census of Housing 4

III. Effects of War on French Housing. 7

A. War Damage to Housing 7

1. Lorient. 7
2. St. Nazaire 8
3. Modane. 8
4. Montlucon 8
5. Paris 8
6. Boulogne. 8
7. Nantes. 8
8. Brest 9

B. Population Changes. 9

IV. Post-Occupation Problems. 12

Bibliography. 13

Tables. 15

Summary and Conclusions

Housing conditions in France at the outbreak of World War II were characterized not so much by an actual scarcity of dwelling space as by a scarcity of modern, sanitary, well-kept dwellings. Low rents and heavy taxes in comparison with building costs have discouraged private building ever since World War I, with the result that the majority of the population live in old dwellings. Furthermore, landlords have not found it profitable to keep these houses in good repair or to add modern conveniences, and the French people seemed more concerned with keeping rents low that with the condition of the homes.

Various types of public housing have been built over a long period of years, but the total number built has been comparatively small. Despite the lack of building, however, the ratio of persons to dwellings has constantly decreased because of the declining population. This trend has continued throughout the present war, with population decreasing more rapidly than houses, in spite of destruction due to warfare. There has been some displacement of population because of the German campaign of 1940 and subsequent allied bombing, and more recently because of precautionary evacuation of coastal areas. The problem of sheltering these people is not serious but may become so, depending on future damage to housing and the movement of population back to their original home territory after the cessation of hostilities.

HOUSING POSITION IN OCCUPIED AREAS: FRANCE

I. SHORT HISTORY OF HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION

A. General

Ever since the last war, housing conditions in France have been the worst of any of the Western and Central European countries. The reason lies in the fact that rents were restricted and allowed to rise much more slowly than other costs and as a consequence it was not profitable to invest money in the construction of new dwellings or in the repair of old ones. In addition to low rents, landlords were further punished with increasing taxes on property. Rental property fell into a bad state of disrepair -- most of the dwellings have had no sanitary improvements. There was practically no private construction of dwellings for commercial purposes.

B. Public Housing

In order to supplement private building, the French government early took an interest in public housing. In 1894, the first low-cost housing companies were created and authorized to obtain 30-year loans from the Caisse des Depôts et Consignations (Deposit and Loan Bank) at 3 to 3½ percent interest for the purpose of constructing low-cost housing -- with maximum cost and rent prescribed by law. Within a few years the Société de Crédit des Habitations à bon Marché was founded as an intermediary between the companies and the bank.

In 1908 the Ribot Act established the Sociétés de Crédit Immobilier, which could borrow 100 million francs

(since then increased) at 2 percent from the Caisse des Depôts et Consignations to loan to workers to build their own houses. Another big step was taken in 1912, with the creation of the Offices Publics d'habitations à bon Marché -- public bureaus set up in cities and departments to plan, construct, and manage low-cost houses.

World War I of course interrupted all building activity, and after the war, construction activity lagged because rents of old dwellings were fixed at approximately three times the 1914 level. Competition with these low rents kept the rents of new dwellings at a low level, entirely out of line with other costs of living, and consequently discouraged the investment of capital in the building industry. The following table giving indices of the cost of living from 1914 to 1938 clearly shows this discrepancy.

Year	Rents	Cost of living	Building costs	Average salaries in Paris
1914	100	100	100	100
1922	180	330	360	400
1923	175	417	391	450
1924	200	754	419	700
1929	250	623	707	700
1937	280	619	883	a
1938	290	a	a	a

a Data not available.

Source: La Crise du Batiment, Andre Vene, No. 267, supplement to Bulletin Quotidien, 25 Nov. 1938.

In 1928 the critical housing situation prompted the enactment of the Loucheur law which established a five-year building program (later extended to 1937) for the construction of 200,000 low-cost and 60,000 medium-price dwellings. In 1930 the Bonneway law instituted the "improved" low-cost dwellings which provide a few comforts to the tenants for a slightly higher rent. The ambitious program embodied in the Loucheur law was not completely carried out -- by 1932, 180,000 low-rent and 15,000 medium-rent dwellings had been built. When the funds were exhausted they were not renewed, and government subsidies could not induce private capital into the construction field. The index of construction dropped sharply after 1929, recovered slightly in 1933 and 1934 and then plunged downward again. By 1938 construction activity had virtually ceased and was further hindered by the shift to war production.

In spite of the long history of public housing in France and the elaborate administrative organization, the total results in number of dwellings constructed are very poor. A survey conducted in 1934 revealed that over the whole period of low-cost housing construction only 240,000 dwellings had been completed or were under construction at the time of the survey. Table 1, which is appended, shows the distribution of responsibilities for the construction of these dwellings by the various agencies; table 2, also appended, shows the results of the activities of the Offices Publics of various departments and cities. Because the rate of new construction was not great enough to ~~merit~~ meet the demand, there was very little slum clearance.

II. CENSUS OF HOUSING

A census of French population is taken every five years and a count is taken of the total number of houses and of households (ménages). Every ten years a more complete census of housing is taken, including such questions as number of rooms in a logement (the dwelling place of one household), the number of stories in the house, the number of persons per room. A census of housing was taken in connection with the 1936 population census, but unfortunately the results were not published. However, the total number of houses and households for the entire country and for each department is available. Since a logement is the dwelling place of one household, we therefore have the total number of logements, or dwellings.

In 1936 there were 9,104,871 dwellings in which were housed an average of 3.19 persons per dwelling. The average number of persons per dwelling has steadily decreased since 1861, as shown in table 4 at the end of the study, indicating that the size of family has been steadily decreasing. Although the the number of households per structure has increased, indicating a tendency toward the building of multi-unit structures, the average number of persons per structure has declined slightly. The above figures give no indication of size of dwelling, and consequently no indication of room overcrowding. The only data available on population density per room are rather out of date, since they are taken from the 1926 census of housing. Table 5, appended, shows the amount of room crowding in cities of 50,000 or more inhabitants. It may be seen that the most crowded cities were the following: Brest, with

64.2 percent of the population living in dwellings having more than one person per room, and 27.2 percent living in dwellings with more than 2 persons per room; Saint Etienne with 22 percent in dwellings with more than 2 persons per room; Rennes with 15.9 percent; Limoges with 15.5 percent; Nantes with 13.7 percent; Le Havre with 13.4 percent; Villeurbonne with 12.9 percent; Calais with 11.8 percent; Grenoble with 10.9 percent; Troyes with 10.3 percent; and Montreuil-sous-Bois with 10 percent. The cities which had a surplus of dwelling space, based on the percentage of the population living in dwellings having more than 2 rooms per person were Roubaix, Tourcoing, Amiens, Nancy, Versailles, Toulon, Orleans, Montpellier, and Rouen. According to these figures, there seems to be no regional pattern of room crowding in cities.

Since no construction data are available by city ~~since~~ after 1926, and since the 1936 census does not contain figures on dwellings by cities, it is impossible to tell whether or not the pattern has changed ~~since then~~. However, the population statistics for cities of 50,000 or more inhabitants in 1931 and 1936 give some indication of where to expect housing shortages. In general, one would expect housing shortages in cities which had the greatest increases in population -- Marseilles, Toulon, Boulogne-Billancourt, Le Mans, Brest, Versailles, Asnières, Argenteuil, and Bastia. The following table shows the relative amount of crowding in 1926 in these cities:

City	Percent of population increase 1931-1936	Percent of population living in dwellings with two or more persons per room	Percent of population living in dwellings with two or more rooms per person	Vacant houses per thousand occupied houses
Marseilles	14.2	6.1	7.9	30
Toulon	12.9	3.8	18.2	23
Boulogne	12.9	9.8	8.2	14
Le Mares	10.0	8.1	17.0	31
Brest	13.6	27.2	6.3	8
Versailles	10.4	6.6	16.9	22
Asnières	12.8	6.5	12.5	a
Argenteuil	16.1	9.7	8.8	a
Bostia	17.0	11.1	7.4	a

a Data not available.

On the other hand, several large cities, including Paris, Lyon, Bordeaux, Lille, St. Etienne, Le Havre, lost population between 1933 and 1936.

Because of the declining population in France, (in January 1940 the French Statistical Office estimated the total population of the country at 41,400,000 in comparison with 41,907,000 in 1936), there was no actual shortage of dwelling space at the outbreak of the war, despite the lack of building in the years previous. Housing conditions could be characterized not so much by scarcity as by a general state of disrepair.

III. EFFECTS OF WAR ON FRENCH HOUSING

A. War Damage to Housing

Houses in France have suffered two kinds of damage: 1) damage from the brief German campaign in 1940, and 2) damage since then from Allied bombing attacks. Reports of damage vary, but the most reliable seems to be contained in the Documents Francais of April 1943 -- 257,664 dwelling houses partially destroyed, and 62,262 totally destroyed as of 1 January 1943. These constitute only 2.4 percent of the total dwelling houses in France in 1936. This destruction was concentrated in the northern areas of France.

During 1943, the cities of France have been subjected to numerous air raids by the Allied air forces. These raids however, were mainly daylight and night precision raids, and damage to housing was incidental, in contrast to the area raids on Germany. It is therefore even more difficult to estimate the number of houses destroyed on the basis of tonnage dropped, than was the case in Germany. Intelligence reports indicate wide variance in the results of bombing on housing in the communities attacked.

The most heavily bombed cities are Lorient, St. Nazaire, Modane, Montluçon, Paris, Boulogne, and Nantes. The following reports have been received concerning these communities:

1. Lorient. "Not a house is standing. Of the town and its inhabitants nothing is left." This is the report of a

man who visited Lorient in April 1943. In June a reporter for the Paris-Soir reported that 100,000 inhabitants of Lorient and the nine neighboring communes had moved away. Only the railway men and a few policemen remained in Lorient.

2. St. Nazaire. A report from the German economic press, April 1943, stated that 80 percent of the dwellings had been rendered uninhabitable. In October, the Mayor of St. Nazaire reported to Petain that only 500 ration cards per month were being issued in the city which had a pre-war population of about 45,000.

3. Modane. The RAF has dropped 1,234 tons of bombs on this town which has only about 1,200 dwellings. However, the target was the railroad tunnel, and since no reports of housing damage have been received, it is impossible to estimate how many bombs fell on the town.

4. Montlucon. A total of 1,123 tons of bombs was dropped in an RAF night raid on a rubber tire factory. No report on damage to housing has been received.

5. Paris. The raids on Paris have been precision raids on specific targets and the damage to housing has undoubtedly been negligible in relation to the total number of dwellings in the city.

6. Boulogne. The bombing of Boulogne was aimed at area defense positions and no details on housing damage are available.

7. Nantes. The reports on destruction in Nantes, as of the end of September 1943 vary from 1,000 to 16,000 dwellings

destroyed. The targets aimed at by the USAAF were naval installations and port facilities.

8. Brest. This city has been subjected to many light raids -- 83, according to a Paris radio broadcast on 25 May 1943. The results of those raids, according to the same braodcast, were 1,048 buildings destroyed and 4,948 damaged.

The total number of dwellings destroyed or damaged in 1943 was probably not more than 50,000, or 0.3 percent of the total number of dwellings. Thus the total number of dwellings rendered uninhabitable through war action can be estimated at approximately 362,000 as of 1 January 1944. The number of persons rendered homeless, on the basis of 3.19 persons per household was thus approximately 1,094,780. The damage is confined almost exclusively to the northern and coastal provinces of France, the most seriously affected being Somme, Nord, Pas-de-Calais, Aisne, Seine-Inferieure, Oise, and Ardennes.

B. Population Changes

Despite the losses in houses due to war action and the lack of construction during the war, the housing situation for the country as a whole has been eased by the decrease in population. In January 1940, the French Statistical Office estimated the population of the country at 41,400,000, as compared with the official census of 41,900,000 in 1936. Since the beginning of the war, the population has further decreased, due to the excess of civilian deaths over births, war migrations, and the absence of prisoners of war and workers sent to Germany.

By the end of 1942, the International Labor Office, in a report by E. M. Kulischer, estimated a net loss of 1,775,000 persons -- 2,350,000 persons having moved out, and 575,000 persons having moved in. The Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations estimated in September 1943 that the current population in France, not counting Alsace-Lorraine or war prisoners still in Germany, did not exceed 38,000,000. At present there are 1,800,000 French prisoners of war and civilian workers in Germany, about 1,050,500 prisoners of war and 750,000 civilian workers.

While the decrease in population eases the nationwide housing situation on a person-room ratio, and creates a large absorption capacity for billeting, it does not necessarily create vacant dwellings. Shortages of dwelling space have developed in certain localities. Various sources report a severe shortage of dwellings in the Paris area. Grenoble is also suffering from a shortage of houses. The influx of German authorities into these areas has aggravated the situation.

Evacuation has not been carried out on so large or so systematic a scale in France as in Germany. Immediately after heavy raids on a city, large voluntary evacuations took place. Thus we read of 100,000 evacuees from the Lorient area in February 1943, 55,000 evacuated from St. Nazaire, 12,000 persons from Le Havre. Some of these reports are undoubtedly exaggerated, and there is no indication of the duration of the

evacuation. There is a tendency for people to return to their home city as soon as the danger is past. The latest reports indicate that there has been very little precautionary evacuation. Just toward the end of 1943 the "Direction des Refugies" proposed that families inhabiting big urban centers, specially exposed to bombardment, should send their children to the country. The Government offered to provide shelter for 400,000 children in the provinces, placing them with rural families. Quarters were requisitioned by the departmental refugee services and families receiving the children were inspected by mayors and welfare workers. One thousand five hundred children have been quartered in hotels at Megene and over 1,000 children in hotels in Lourdes (La France Socialiste, 11 November 1943).

There have been reports that the evacuation of all coastal cities has been ordered. However it is not known to what extent these orders have been carried out. The latest information on evacuation from the Mediterranean coastal area was received from Bern on 16 February 1944, presenting the following evacuation scheme established by the German occupation authorities:

120,000 persons from Alpes Maritimes to Haute Alpes, Isere, Drome
180,000 from Bouches du Rhone to Ardeche, Lozere, Haute Loire, and Contal
10,000 from southern section of Gard to northern Gard
60,000 from Herault to Aveyron and Tarn
25,000 from Ande to Aveyron and Tarn
40,000 from Pyrenees Orientales to Arieze

IV. POST-OCCUPATION PROBLEMS

It is rather difficult to envisage the immediate housing problem that will confront the occupying authorities. Undoubtedly the damage to houses through land warfare will be much more serious than that imposed by aerial bombardment, and a great many people will flee from the combat areas. As soon as hostitities cease, these people will have a tendency to move back to their normal place of living.

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TABLE 1. NUMBER OF LOW COST LODGINGS COMPLETED OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION AS OF 1 JANUARY 1934

Total dwellings completed or under construction	240,000
Built by Offices publics	80,000
Built by the Societés de Fondations d'Habitations à bon marché and other agencies	35,000
Built through the credit of the Societés de Crédit Immobilier	125,000
Population, 1936	41,907,000
Dwellings constructed per thousand population	5.7

Source: Les Habitations à Bon Marché, Jean Coutard, Paris, 1938.

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Table 2. LOW-COST AND MEDIUM-RENT DWELLINGS IN VARIOUS AREAS OF FRANCE ON 31 DECEMBER 1935

City or department	Date of survey	Low-cost dwellings		Improved low-cost dwellings		Medium-rent dwellings		Dwellings under construction	Total dwellings	Dwellings per 1,000 population[a]
		Number	Inhabitants	Number	Inhabitants	Number	Inhabitants			
City of Paris	12/31/35	19,824	92,573	2,456	7,794	3,351	b	b	26,133	9.3
Department of the Seine	12/31/35	12,072	39,580	1,144	b	146	b	4,572	17,934	8.4[c]
Department of the Bouches-du-Rhone	12/31/35	1,957	7,823	24	72	b	b	b	1,981	6.4[d]
Department of the Seine-et-Oise	12/31/35	1,566	6,554	b	b	b	b	85	1,651	1.2
Department du Calvados	12/31/35	1,457	6,311	164	335	b	b	b	1,621	4.0
Department du Nord	12/31/35	1,442	4,703	b	b	b	b	b	1,442	.5[e]
City of Alger	12/31/35	1,302	8,035	b	b	43	b	b	1,345	b
City of Lille	12/31/35	1,170	5,400	b	b	b	b	270	1,440	7.2
City of Marseille	12/31/35	1,150	6,170	b	b	b	b	b	1,150	1.3
City of Palaux	12/31/35	1,058	4,232	b	b	b	b	225	1,283	b
City of Mulhouse	12,31/35	1,055	5,129	b	b	59	b	220	1,334	13.8

a. Population as of 1936

b. Information not available.

c. Population outside of Paris.

d. Population outside of Marseille.

e. Population outside of Lille.

Source: Les Habitations à Bon Marché, Jean Coutard, Paris 1938.

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TABLE 3. INCREASE IN NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS
1921-1936 IN 5-YEAR INTERVALS

Year	Households	Increase	Average per yr.	Persons per household
1921	11,859,780			3.31
1926	12,520,498	660.718	132,150	3.25
1931	12,982,988	462,490	92,498	3.22
1936	13,150,486	167,500	33,500	3.19

Source: Census of Population, 1936, Vol. I.

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TABLE 4. TOTAL HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLDS (DWELLINGS) IN FRANCE, 1861-1936

Year	Houses	Households	Persons per house	Persons per household	Households per house
1861	7,811,549	9,747,029	4.79	3.84	1.25
1881	7,882,464	10,761,345	4.98	3.65	1.37
1901	8,272,409	11,324,471	4.92	3.59	1.37
1911	8,465,411	11,858,785	4.90	3.50	1.40
1921	8,195,192	11,859,980	4.78	3.31	1.45
1926	8,614,755	12,520,498	4.73	3.25	1.45
1931	8,886,125	12,982,988	4.71	3.22	1.46
1936	9,104,871	13,150,486	4.60	3.19	1.44

Source: Census of 1936, Vol. I.

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Table 5. CONDITION OF ROOM CROWDING IN VARIOUS CITIES OF FRANCE -- 1926

Cities of 50,000+ inhabitants	Persons living in dwellings classified according to room crowding							
	More than two persons per room		One to two persons per room		One to two rooms per person		Two or more rooms per person	
	Total persons	Per-cent	Total persons	Per-cent	Total persons	Per-cent	Total persons	Per-cent
Paris	218,820	8.7	845,705	33.6	455,138	18.1	272,981	10.8
Marseille	36,866	6.1	206,920	34.4	113,903	18.9	47,604	7.9
Lyon	33,924	6.5	207,634	39.9	61,352	11.8	25,992	5.0
Bordeaux	10,554	4.4	61,922	26.3	54,609	23.2	33,266	14.3
Lille	14,377	7.8	46,279	25.1	31,130	16.9	19,831	10.7
Saint-Etienne	38,995	22.0	77,023	43.6	12,249	6.9	7,288	4.1
Nantes	23,014	13.7	58,770	35.0	25,482	15.2	17,926	10.7
Nice	7,619	4.6	47,278	28.5	34,465	20.8	19,359	11.7
Toulouse	8,513	5.1	52,472	31.2	37,239	22.2	19,730	11.7
Strasbourg	8,484	5.5	46,472	30.4	41,543	27.2	19,383	12.7
Le Havre	19,776	13.4	56,146	38.0	21,274	14.4	13,173	8.9
Rouen	9,468	8.9	30,783	28.8	21,738	20.4	16,760	15.7
Roubaix	3,100	2.8	20,879	18.6	22,486	20.0	34,993	31.2
Toulon	3,488	3.8	24,177	26.1	19,290	20.8	16,017	16.2
Nancy	8,648	8.6	29,881	29.7	23,340	23.2	22,292	22.2
Clermond-Ferrand	3,578	3.6	29,994	30.6	18,825	19.2	6,514	6.6
Reims	4,449	4.7	28,613	30.5	19,529	20.8	10,737	11.4
Mulhouse	3,656	4.2	25,352	29.2	24,393	28.1	12,241	14.1
Limoges	11,077	15.5	29,807	41.8	9,576	13.4	4,852	6.8
Amiens	5,302	6.6	18,913	23.6	20,290	25.4	18,748	23.4
Angers	6,774	9.1	24,184	32.6	13,456	18.1	11,047	14.8
Grenoble	8,218	10.9	25,548	34.0	13,578	18.1	7,600	10.1
Nimes	1,319	2.7	14,749	30.4	12,494	25.7	6,965	14.3
Dijon	5,672	7.8	23,602	32.6	14,647	20.3	9,269	12.8
Rennes	11,260	15.9	27,060	38.1	9,747	13.7	6,733	9.5
Montpellier	1,681	2.5	16,864	24.7	19,607	28.7	13,303	19.5
Tourcoing	1,094	1.4	13,455	17.3	27,630	35.5	20,827	26.8
Saint-Denis	2,204	3.2	37,054	54.0	5,140	7.5	1,306	1.9
Tours	4,323	6.8	19,823	31.1	13,865	21.6	9,182	14.4
Boulogne-Billancourt	6,565	9.8	24,372	36.2	11,546	17.1	5,492	8.2
Levallois-Perret	5,844	9.0	25,315	38.9	9,617	30.6	14,351	14.8
Mans	5,180	8.1	18,974	29.7	13,527	21.1	10,873	17.0
Calais	7,729	11.8	22,182	34.0	13,823	21.2	8,191	12.5
Orléans	4,690	7.9	18,778	31.7	12,205	20.6	9,453	16.0
Metz	4,238	8.2	16,936	32.9	12,217	23.7	5,749	11.2
Perpignan	2,791	4.9	30,817	54.1	9,365	16.4	4,439	7.8
Versailles	3,019	6.6	42,915	28.4	11,335	24.9	7,695	16.9
Brest	15,092	27.2	20,523	37.0	5,660	10.2	3,491	6.3
Béziers	2,504	4.1	23,870	38.5	12,714	20.5	5,518	8.9
Villeurtanne	7,648	12.9	26,720	45.2	5,932	10.0	2,784	4.7
Montreuil-sous-Bois	5,425	10.0	20,072	37.1	9,140	16.9	4,458	8.2
Troyes	5,002	10.3	18,119	37.1	7,955	16.3	4,807	9.9

Source: Census of Population, 1926

TABLE 6. POPULATION IN CITIES OF 50,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE -- 1931 AND 1936

City	1936	1931	Percentage Change
Paris	2,829,746	2,891,020	- 2.1
Marseilles	914,232	800,881	↑ 14.1
Lyon	570,622	579,765	- 1.2
Bordeaux	258,348	262,990	- 1.8
Nice	241,916	219,549	↑ 9.2
Toulouse	213,220	194,564	↑ 9.6
Lille	200,575	201,568	- 0.5
Nantes	195,185	187,343	↑ 4.2
Strasbourg	193,119	181,465	↑ 6.4
Saint-Etienne	190,236	191,088	- 0.4
Le Havre	164,083	165,076	- 0.6
Toulon	150,310	133,263	↑ 12.8
Rouen	122,832	122,957	- 0.1
Nancy	121,301	120,578	↑ 0.6
Reims	116,687	112,820	↑ 3.4
Roubaix	107,105	117,190	- 8.6
Clermont-Ferrand	101,128	103,143	- 2.0
Rennes	95,538	88,659	↑ 7.8
Boulogne-Billancourt	97,379	86,234	↑ 12.9
Mulhouse	96,697	99,534	- 2.9
Dijon	96,257	90,869	↑ 5.9
Grenoble	95,806	90,748	↑ 5.6
Limoges	95,217	92,577	↑ 2.9
Amiens	93,773	90,211	↑ 3.9
Nîmes	93,758	89,213	↑ 5.1
Montpellier	90,787	86,924	↑ 4.4
Angers	87,988	85,602	↑ 2.8
Le Mans	84,525	76,868	↑ 10.0
Tours	83,753	78,585	↑ 6.6
Metz	83,119	78,767	↑ 5.5
Villeurbanne	81,322	82,038	- 0.9
Brest	79,342	69,841	↑ 13.6
Saint-Denis	78,401	82,412	- 4.9
Tourcoing	78,393	81,972	- 4.4
Versailles	73,839	66,859	↑ 10.4
Beziers	73,505	71,527	↑ 2.5
Orléans	73,155	71,606	↑ 2.2
Perpignan	72,207	73,962	- 2.4
Asnieres	71,851	63,654	↑ 12.8
Montreuil	71,803	70,450	↑ 1.9
Calais	67,568	70,213	- 3.8
Levallois-Perret	65,186	71,181	- 8.4
Besançon	65,022	60,367	↑ 7.7
Colombes	61,944	57,313	↑ 8.1
Caen	61,334	57,528	↑ 6.6
Avignon	59,472	57,228	↑ 3.9
Argenteuil	59,314	70,657	- 16.1
Courbevoie	58,638	54,185	↑ 8.2
Troyes	57,961	58,804	- 1.4
Neuilly-sur-Seine	56,938	53,491	↑ 6.4
Saint-Maur-des-Fossés	56,740	57,164	- 0.7
Clichy	56,475	55,692	↑ 1.4
Aubervilliers	55,871	55,714	↑ 0.3
Boulogne	52,571	51,854	↑ 1.0
Bastia	52,208	44,628	↑ 17.0
Saint Ouen	51,106	53,146	- 3.8

Source: Census of Population, 1936

Table 7. HOUSING CONDITIONS IN FRENCH CITIES, BY DEPARTMENT, 1926

Departments	Cities	Number of vacant houses per 1,000 occupied houses	Number of inhabitants per 10 houses	Average number of stories per 10 houses
Alpes Maritimes	Nice	1	155	22
Aube	Troyes	7	86	15
Bouches du Rhône	Marseilles	30	129	22
Calvados	Caen	16	79	19
Côte-d'Or	Dijon	26	93	17
Doubs	Besançon	49	124	19
Finistère	Brest	8	175	25
Gard	Nîmes	10	103	15
Garonne (Haute)	Toulouse	10	81	16
Gironde	Bordeaux	13	66	15
Herault	Beziers et Montpellier	56	95	19
Ille-et-Vilaine	Rennes	9	89	18
Indre-et-Loire	Tours	12	64	16
Isère	Grenoble	15	163	24
Loire	Saint-Etienne	15	188	21
Loire-Inférieure	Nantes	14	96	18
Loiret	Orléans	17	72	16
Maine-et-Loire	Angers	22	73	18
Marne	Reims	63	68	15
Meurthe-et-Moselle	Nancy	24	108	21
Moselle	Metz	13	135	22
Nord	(Lille et Roubaix	(10	(50	(18
	(Tourcoing	(12	(38	(14
Pas-de-Calais	Boulogne et Calais	17	54	14
Puy-de-Dôme	Clermont-Ferrand	2	118	18
Pyrénées-Orientales	Perpignan	2	90	19
Rhin (Bas)	Strasbourg	6	154	24
Rhin (Haut)	Mulhouse	5	111	21
Rhône	(Lyon	(5	(289	(30
	(Villeurbanne	(6	(122	(16
Sarthe	Le Mans	31	44	14
Seine	Paris	(105	(392	(40
	Villes de 50000-100000 habitants	(11	(145	(21
Seine-Inférieure	Le Havre et Rouen	15	87	22
Seine-et-Oise	Versailles	24	149	22
Somme	Amiens	37	37	13
Var	Toulon	63	108	23
Vaucluse	Avignon	24	65	15
Haut-Vienne	Limoges	4	101	17

Source: Census of Population, 1926, Vol. IV.

Table 8. HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLDS BY DEPARTMENT, 1936, 1931, and 1926

Department	Number of houses			Number of households		
	1936	1931	1926	1936	1931	1926
Ain	78,214	78,475	77,146	95,847	97,631	96,201
Aisne	138,361	139,195	136,940	149,883	154,580	154,639
Allier	97,706	94,850	93,089	119,871	120,031	117,878
Alpes (Basses)	22,624	23,157	23,961	25,720	26,052	26,883
Alpes (Hautes)	21,894	21,719	22,909	24,066	23,277	22,950
Alpes-Maritimes	72,343	64,187	56,522	163,311	147,756	116,105
Ardèche	67,086	67,901	67,082	79,492	81,012	76,375
Ardennes	74,735	73,087	73,052	93,181	94,901	94,804
Ariège	43,807	44,746	46,419	45,513	46,605	47,563
Aube	64,118	62,905	61,007	81,181	82,900	80,102
Aude	72,780	73,515	72,564	83,754	85,018	84,036
Aveyron	70,813	71,841	73,005	85,669	87,850	89,073
Belfort	16,152	15,253	14,367	29,654	30,275	28,961
Bouches-du-Rhône	137,722	130,928	114,941	336,057	311,473	264,869
Calvados	112,565	110,472	108,091	122,928	123,054	120,883
Cantal	45,896	45,586	45,909	52,088	51,810	51,825
Charente	90,487	89,825	90,638	93,844	93,663	93,674
Charente-Inférieure	128,435	126,544	127,350	133,232	133,517	133,166
Cher	82,470	81,202	80,518	94,532	94,589	95,244
Corrèze	60,442	59,674	60,082	70,580	69,761	69,199
Corse	36,207	35,582	35,825	62,855	71,612	58,882
Côte d'Or	86,907	86,467	87,375	110,161	112,544	109,579
Côtes du Nord	137,291	134,537	134,106	146,486	142,565	143,413
Creuse	56,585	56,784	57,976	59,083	59,301	60,969
Dordogne	105,531	105,127	106,422	110,079	109,317	111,032
Doubs	54,922	53,432	51,710	89,787	90,070	86,504
Drôme	66,395	66,348	66,495	81,497	81,361	80,585
Eure	92,327	92,104	93,126	94,194	95,715	96,948
Eure-et-Loir	72,470	72,172	73,029	78,305	78,433	79,305
Finistère	142,879	113,110	129,449	197,325	188,730	183,185
Gard	84,891	83,161	83,432	117,790	119,852	120,870
Garonne (Haute)	102,622	97,776	97,672	139,822	133,642	130,712
Gers	54,060	54,512	57,576	53,354	53,899	55,734
Gironde	221,929	216,292	205,044	275,084	276,314	268,335
Hérault	104,776	102,841	101,243	156,124	158,042	152,109
Ille-et-Vilaine	139,569	131,918	126,836	170,638	167,956	163,813
Indre	73,772	72,435	72,502	75,007	76,423	76,379
Indre-et-Loire	95,035	92,454	92,332	112,139	109,854	110,734
Isère	122,082	121,459	120,023	178,901	174,607	171,332
Jura	54,802	54,364	54,501	68,778	70,057	70,873
Landes	61,870	61,490	58,902	67,543	67,535	67,710
Loir-et-Cher	74,219	73,059	73,601	79,177	79,543	80,572
Loire	102,280	100,295	99,997	218,287	216,441	214,982
Loire (Haute)	64,748	64,633	66,524	73,530	73,863	75,437
Loire-Inférieure	154,011	148,931	143,151	208,778	202,119	200,903
Loiret	92,063	89,737	88,263	114,685	114,082	112,143
Lot	48,384	49,499	51,835	47,990	49,382	51,381
Lot-et-Garonne	72,504	73,002	75,041	74,828	74,100	75,265
Lozère	24,315	24,613	25,791	26,182	26,685	26,841
Maine-et-Loire	121,666	121,281	119,887	148,520	148,947	150,287
Manche	120,520	119,320	119,776	130,493	129,458	128,440
Marne	96,277	93,965	93,223	127,592	128,512	125,956
Marne (Haute)	60,707	61,376	62,593	60,919	61,803	64,462
Mayenne	67,596	67,938	68,911	75,262	75,632	76,817
Meurthe-et-Moselle	106,062	101,708	96,729	172,836	173,302	162,073
Meuse	60,392	60,959	62,634	66,734	67,755	68,847
Morbihan	119,711	115,477	112,064	148,057	144,364	170,189
Moselle	121,696	115,370	109,238	181,948	174,522	156,556
Nièvre	74,390	74,019	74,915	84,926	84,997	86,230
Nord	545,097	530,318	486,528	637,513	635,687	612,138

Table 8 (continued)

Department	Number of houses			Number of households		
	1936	1931	1926	1936	1931	1926
Oise	114,123	112,859	110,686	126,089	127,713	127,287
Orne	82,186	83,528	86,209	86,245	87,854	88,408
Pas-de-Calais	312,014	301,638	282,413	336,535	330,499	311,755
Puy-de-Dôme	120,352	121,854	124,316	149,672	153,275	158,617
Pyrénées (Basses)	82,621	80,202	79,706	105,792	106,644	102,634
Pyrénées (Hautes)	44,740	44,748	44,640	53,238	53,225	52,270
Pyrénées-Orientales	54,913	53,966	51,905	71,122	70,905	66,137
Rhin (Bas)	126,644	120,052	114,163	200,686	185,345	174,478
Rhin (Haut)	92,071	86,709	77,933	146,995	151,831	129,729
Rhône	109,943	105,910	99,474	329,668	320,769	304,451
Saône (Haute)	61,306	62,247	63,038	67,726	70,361	71,876
Saône-et-Loire	129,008	128,493	128,587	172,625	174,573	174,791
Sarthe	119,642	118,283	118,639	124,697	123,916	125,097
Savoie	53,085	52,389	52,952	68,713	67,643	65,600
Savoie (Haute)	58,054	56,683	56,389	72,082	70,170	66,774
Seine (Paris	95,045	95,015	85,848	1,214,456	1,172,855	1,174,584
(Banlieue	264,326	254,436	208,272	763,349	750,677	609,641
Seine-Inférieure	208,036	199,497	190,095	282,160	274,240	266,436
Seine-et-Marne	113,932	110,358	103,884	136,372	132,072	123,926
Seine-et-Oise	326,105	286,366	232,168	452,295	432,461	356,695
Sèvres (Deux)	87,706	87,173	89,842	92,374	92,301	93,727
Somme	153,568	151,478	149,478	151,707	151,223	151,734
Tarn	73,698	73,409	73,692	83,335	84,159	84,701
Tarn-et-Garonne	46,324	46,021	48,000	47,838	47,039	47,765
Var	75,576	69,077	66,343	122,065	113,081	108,158
Vaucluse	64,003	61,613	60,627	75,690	73,901	70,262
Vendée	109,474	108,252	106,441	113,398	112,899	111,810
Vienne	85,777	84,780	84,710	92,632	91,646	92,335
Vienne (Haute)	74,673	72,186	70,308	98,904	97,352	96,014
Vosges	85,770	85,020	85,340	116,130	115,806	114,409
Yonne	88,946	86,756	86,297	92,777	93,995	95,685
Total France	9,104,871	8,886,125	8,614,755	13,150,486	12,962,988	12,520,498

Source: Census of Population, 1936.

Table 9. POPULATION BY DEPARTMENT, 1926, 1931, 1936

	1926	1931	1936
Ain	317,195	322,918	316,710
Aisne	489,022	489,368	484,647
Allier	370,562	373,924	368,778
Alpes (Basses)	88,347	87,893	85,090
Alpes (Hautes)	87,963	87,566	88,210
Alpes-Maritimes	435,253	493,376	513,714
Ardèche	289,263	282,911	272,698
Ardennes	297,448	293,746	288,632
Ariège	167,498	161,265	155,134
Aube	238,253	242,596	239,563
Aude	291,951	296,880	285,115
Aveyron	328,886	323,782	314,682
Belfort	96,594	99,403	99,497
Bouches-du-Rhône	929,549	1,101,672	1,224,802
Calvados	390,492	401,356	404,901
Cantal	196,999	193,505	90,888
Charente	312,790	310,489	309,279
Charente-Inférieure	417,789	415,249	419,021
Cher	298,398	293,918	288,695
Corrèze	269,289	264,129	262,770
Corse	289,890	297,235	322,854
Côte d'Or	328,881	333,800	334,386
Côtes-du-Nord	552,788	539,531	531,840
Creuse	219,148	207,882	201,844
Dordogne	392,489	383,720	386,963
Doubs	a	a	304,812
Drôme			267,281
Eure			303,829
Eure-et-Loire			252,690
Finistère			756,793
Gard			395,299
Garonne (Haute-)			458,647
Gers			192,451
Gironde			850,567
Hérault			502,043
Ile-et-Vilaine			565,766
Indre			245,622
Indre et Loire			343,276
Isère			572,742
Jura			220,797
Landes			251,436
Loir-et-Cher			240,908
Loire			650,226
Loire (Haute-)			245,271
Loire-Inferieure			659,428
Loiret			343,865
Lot			162,572
Lot-et-Garonne			252,761
Lozère			98,480
Maine et Loire			477,690
Manche			438,539
Marne			410,238
Marne (Haute)			188,471
Mayenne			252,348
Meurthe-et-Moselle			576,041
Meuse			216,934
Morbihan			542,248
Moselle (actuel)			696,246
Nièvre			249,673
Nord			2,022,167

Table 9 continued.

	1926	1931	1936
Oise			402,569
Orne			269,331
Pas de Calais			1,179,467
Puy de Dôme			486,103
Pyrénées (Basses)			413,411
Pyrénées (Hautes)			118,604
Pyrénées (Orientales)			233,347
Rhin (Bas) actuel			711,830
Rhin (Haut) actuel			507,551
Rhone			1,028,379
Saône Haute			212,829
Saône et Loire			525,676
Sarthe			388,519
Savoie			239,010
Savoie (Haute)			259,961
Seine			4,962,967
Seine Inférieure			915,628
Seine et Marne			409,311
Seine et Oise			1,413,472
Sèvres (Deux)			308,841
Somme			467,479
Tarn			297,871
Tarn et Garonne			164,629
Var			398,662
Vaucluse			245,503
Vendée			389,211
Vienne			306,820
Vienne (Haute)			333,589
Vosges (actuel)			376,926
Yonne			271,685
Total			39,991,429

a Data for 1926 and 1931 available in Census of Population, 1936.

Source: Census of Population, 1936.